1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

● 552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanggganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seangganga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name.

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers.

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor.

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*.

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows:

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 778 618 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members [262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no [552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726 539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 ● 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 [517] The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 284 ●552 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura (kura* leaf), and *kato musu (musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula,* and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than [177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 622] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 526 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 765] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was